



AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
CITY of LONDON, &c.

(Price One Shilling.)



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IN

AND DRESS

TO THE

CITY OF LONDON, 1853



(Price One Shilling)

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A N
ADDRESS

TO THE

CITY of LONDON.

Eloquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum.



L O N D O N:

Printed for R. DAVIS, in Piccadilly, 1762.

ADDRESS

TO THE

CITY OF LONDON

By the



Printed for R. D. B. in the year 1762.



A N

ADDRESS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU have distinguish'd yourselves
of late in so eminent a manner
by your addressees, that it is high
time you should at length your-
selves receive the homage, you so richly de-
serve, that you too should be addressed in a
manner suitable to the sufficiency with which
you fill the mighty stations you hold in life ;
suitable to that genuine simplicity of your
conduct, as well as that elevation of genius,
by which you have raised yourselves from
tradesmen to politicians, setting yourselves,
with wonderful propriety, at the head of the
state. With humble modesty I must confess
another hand would be more fit to describe
the justness of your sentiments, and dignity
of your characters ; would be more adapted
to your exalted taste ; for (speaking sincerely)
I cannot in such manner extol your great
discernment of persons, nor set in such a con-
spicuous light your wisdom, as may entitle me

to your good graces. The humble praise to which my weak efforts could rise, would be ungrateful to your ears; for to say that you are well versed in truck and tale, planting as well as vending sugars to the best advantage, or arranging the affairs of a Grocery-Shop, (whatever pride such merit would have raised in the breasts of your ancestors) in these improved times, far from satisfying your loftier minds, or flattering your nobler ambition, would be looked upon by you as latent satyr, and abuse; such mean encomiums would be disdained by, and affronting to *Gentlemen*, who, stepping from behind a counter, can mount into a higher sphere; appoint * ministers,

* There is no need of citations of antient usage, to prove, that there is in the subject an undoubted right of addressing the throne, for removal of evil ministers; it is readily granted.—On the other hand, it is equally certain, that any attempt made in whatever shape by any one subject or subjects, in a collective or incorporated body, to declare who shall be a minister in any station, is not only the highest affront on the dignity of the crown; but also the most alarming infringement of its most just prerogatives; an atrocious insult on the constitution, and a bold advance towards the establishment of either aristocratical or democratical power. I may add, that the detestation of such proceedings will be greatly heightened in the breast of every honest Englishman, if such minister pretended to be obtruded on the sovereign, is to be regarded as a prime or guiding minister;

sters, direct the councils of the state, and exercise r—— authority with as great capacity

ter ; a name abhorred by this wise and well formed constitution. The policy of this country has, for very just reasons, placed a space and interval between the commonalty and the crown, by the interposition of a nobility, and yet this distance is not intended to debar the people from approaching the throne on proper occasions ; but still carries with it a sufficient, tho' tacit indication, that the right of approaching ought to be used with great caution and tenderness. In case of grievances, and in times when frequent parliaments are held the proper way, in which the generality of the people ought to seek redress, is by instructions to their representatives in parliament ; and it is the duty of parliaments, if sufficient cause appears after mature deliberation, to prepare bills, or address the throne, as the occasion shall require. To quote from ¶ R. II. reign, precedents of the city addressing the D. of Gloucester to take upon him the government, looks like an attempt to completely turn the heads of those, whom a certain party from the imposition which they have put on them, think capable of the most extravagant folly. I believe any man, or body of men, addressing a subject to take on him the government, would hardly escape in these days, the punishment provided in cases of High treason. The same reign which furnished this precedent, furnished too a precedent of deposing a king ; and immediately followed another of setting aside Hereditary right ; which practice, however, it is presumed, will not be recommended, except in cases of the utmost extremity, where a total dissolution of the constitution impends, manifested by an open violation of the most essential laws.

¶ See the Monitor.

city as decency. These things are above my reach; in my low way of thinking, I esteem and honour, beyond any other, the man of whatever station, who supports the office of his occupation, and is properly employed in that part of the great system of society, which the wisdom of providence has allotted him, how much soever you may make light of such a character. Finding, therefore, myself incapable of launching into encomiums adequate to your merits, and much less your expectations, I will leave that task to others, and in this address humbly offer to your consideration some serious reflections, perhaps as worthy of your attention as the most high-flying panegyrick. You are knowing in your callings, I will allow; you have acquired craft by long practice in your professions; Do not ministers of state the same thing? Doth not experience, too, render them crafty, and give them intuition in their particular occupations? Let me then refer it to your own judgments, whether you are likely to be a match for them in politicks, in their own trade; whether in affairs of state it doth not behove you to be wary and mistrustful of your conduct, when you have to do with men, whose business is intrigue and finesse. You are sensible it is not a necessary consequence, because you have raised great fortunes by exorbitant interest in the West-Indies, by dealings in the alley, and successful stock-

jobbing,

jobbing, by buying and selling skillfully, that your prudence too should extend itself to the arts of government; if therefore you have been made to take the change by a minister, who, tho' he doth not quite come up to a Burleigh, a Walsingham, or a Granville, in the truly great objects of state policy; yet in court-craft and ministerial cunning, has infinitely surpassed them all; it is not so much your shame to have been ignorant in these affairs, as I am afraid it is, to have gone out of your element, and to have pretended to a capacity in things, for which you were not qualified. I will explain by degrees to you what I mean by saying that you have been made to take the change; for as the idea is new to you, tho' long entertained by many temperate and considerate persons, it will perhaps with difficulty be received by you. I will therefore premise a few things, before I come nearer to that point.

I shall endeavour in the first place to establish a truth, of which, you seem, together, with a great part of mankind, to have been very little sensible, viz. that his G—— of N—— is (notwithstanding that mask of folly which he wears: Notwithstanding that affected appearance of hurry and confusion, which he assumes, perhaps, as the most easy way of avoiding too pressing solicitations or other private views); is, I say,
more

more deep in device and machination, more versed in ministerial expedients, and more abundant in political resources than any man of this, or perhaps, any other Age.— You sneer at the proposition,——You have sneered at but it too long.—But if he is that weak man, for whom you take him, let this fair Question be answered; How has he foiled the ablest men of this country, undermined S. R. W. How defeated those powerful antagonists the Chesterfields and Granvilles, O Shame to this Country! The almost useless ornaments of this age? How supported himself, according to your mode of thinking, against your own great favourite Minister? Tho' I beg pardon, if I dissent from you in this particular. These are self-evident Facts, except the last, and uncontrovertible, to say Nothing of the R—— F—— itself, which has been supposed by some in the late Reign, to have been subdued and made submissive to his Will and Pleasure. How has he found the means of still holding up his head as a minister to this day, though prest with the greatest disadvantages? Let fair answers be returned to these fair questions. Some people have been weak enough to say, what would have never occurred to me, that in the late reign he was upheld by an old man's obstinacy; but doth not every man know that his late M—— had another favourite minister, whom neither

ther his own great abilities, nor his master's favour, could secure against the wiles of this political magician, and skilful conductor of the passions of the people. (This is not a state governed by caprice and arbitrary will, and consists of so many constitutional parts dependent on one another, that both knowledge and skill are undoubted requisites in the management of it, whether good or bad for any long duration.) Has then chance and good fortune so fickle to others, so constant to him, protected him in an administration of almost twenty years, and that too, in the most perilous times? Has power been acquired, and what is no less difficult, preserved by folly and a dissipation of thought? Or has that appearance of distraction and emptiness been a veil to well digested councils, and schemes properly calculated for the purposes of ambition? I wish I could say for the good of the state; schemes by which, I doubt, you gentlemen, will find yourselves, according to a modern elegant phrase, deeply taken in before the conclusion of this address. This minister has been the object of both your hatred and contempt; I am afraid he will have his revenge, and set you in a contemptible light to latest posterity. Many instances prove that an enemy despised, from that very circumstance reaps great advantages.—But not to anticipate my purpose, or advance bold assertions without laying down strict proof, I will forbear saying

any thing farther at present on this head, and will too, quit the subject of that unparalleled cunning of our great man, fully persuaded, that to bestow more pains on illustrating a fact which so strongly speaks itself, would be a gross abuse of your time as well as mine.

And from considering the character of this minister, I will proceed to consider the character of another, who has been long the idol of your imagination; and, on this occasion, though I cannot flatter myself hitherto, that I have said many things which have given you pleasure, yet I hope now to make some amends; for if I can but attain my purpose, how agreeable must it be to you to find me succeed in proving the only thing that can be wanting to the completion of your satisfaction; the consistency of your favourite's conduct from the earliest time of his appearance on the public stage of life, down to the present? An arduous task I must own, and which has never yet been attempted by any man, not even by the R. H. gentleman himself. If there is any key to this great mystery, he certainly is master of it, and must have some latent reason why he is not chosen to communicate it to the public; if the explanation which I shall give, shall appear to contain some reason, why probably he would not chuse to communicate it to the public, that circumstance amongst an infinite number of others,

others, may help a little to support the truth of it. An apparent irregularity is not confined to this gentleman alone; it is too observed in celestial bodies; and particularly, that of the moon, and yet I presume, no man doubts the due, proper, and constant execution of the plan, on which her motions were originally founded; and could any one lay down an hypothesis, which should comprehend a rational account of every one of her seeming irregularities, their conformity to a given rule would set the hypothesis beyond the reach of cavil, and the perplexity of circumstances, before solution would afford the strongest proof of the justness of the solution. In like manner could I discover any one point in which all this gentleman's actions have centered any one purpose, which his conduct under all its different appearances of inconsistency at various times, has steadily tended to support; I cannot but be free to declare, that I should make no doubt, that such purpose had been the attracting power which had determined his course uniformly, tho' on certain occasions, retrograde and irregular in its appearances to vulgar eyes. If one produces a * Passe-partout, will another doubt, if it has any relation to the several locks which it opens. Truth, when unveiled and exposed to the naked eye,

B 2

proves

* A key for many different locks much used in convents.

proves its own genuineness, a number of concurring circumstances reflect light on one another, and reciprocally support each others evidence and the whole.

But what shall this great Point be; the Center of this extraordinary Minister's Conduct? Attachment to the P—n of the S——n. No one I think will accuse him of too much regard there: And indeed there was so much distance between him and the C——n, occasioned by the station in which his birth placed him, that an immediate attachment to the Crown would have turned to little account. Was it then desire of fame? It is an odd way of going about the acquisition of fame, by disagreeing with one's self; for by a mathematical axiom, equal contrary forces destroy one another. Was it love of his country? His country could be as little served by an inconsistency of conduct, as a ship by a pilot, who should be constantly steering courses directly opposite. We must still then make farther search,

Let us examine particulars, let us take a nearer view of the great parts, in which he has been an actor, from his entrance on public affairs. If I mistake not; the first public affair of importance in which he was employed was, that when he was chosen of the S——C——e, which was appointed to make
inquisition

inquisition into the crimes and misdeameanors of S. W. — And we all know that this mountain did not produce even a mouse. We all too know, that for several years he persecuted this flagitious M——r, with the severest invectives founded on the utmost, declared certainty, in which he could not be mistaken as his abilities were great, his discernment clear, his honesty superior to false accusation: yet armed as he was, with that great power vested in him by P—; posselt of every qualification necessary to this great end; the projection vanished in smoke, and he brought in a verdict on private inspection, if not of unspotted virginity; yet, what proved equally
 * harmless to this atrocious offender.

It

* The author of this is not ignorant that a b— of i——y was thrown out of the —, which was an *excuse* to the C——e, for not having laid greater crimes to this minister's charge: but in whatever obscurity this affair is involved, he hopes those facts which will soon follow, will carry with them entire conviction: in the present case, however, it is sufficiently evident, that as it was necessary to produce something to satisfy the people with respect to the clamours raised against Sir —— W.; so things were with such nice judgment managed, that so much was produced, as served to save the credit of those who had clamoured without doing any material hurt to the person of the minister.

It will not, perhaps, be improper here to mention, that it is no secret to numbers of people, that his G. of N——, who had been long employed in stations of high trust, under the Walpolian administration, weary of filling a secondary place, was glad of an opportunity of supplanting the old minister, and making room for himself: his object was to bring to the ground the minister; but preserve harmless the man; he laboured as industriously to save the man, as to ruin the minister—and succeeded in both. This compassion was natural on account of some old connections, as well as the avoidance of an example, from which ill consequences were easy to be deduced; for here that excellent maxim of doing as you would, that others should do unto you, was religiously and conscientiously observed. Ambition's work is done when a minister is divested of power; the punishment of wickedness relates only to the good of the state.

Tho' the overthrow of this famous minister was a great point gained by his Gr—, yet all was not yet done: a mighty contest still remained, and a formidable competitor for the succession appeared; a man of great elocution of boundless natural abilities, improved by all the advantages which study could bestow, fertile in schemes, and bold in execution. This execrable

† execrable minister gave into continent measures, and the hire of Hanoverian troops. Him, Mr. Pitt opposed by the exertion of the utmost powers of his eloquence, with the most flaming zeal; nay, I may say even outrage: him he anathematized, and by the concurrence of those who called themselves the Country party, and abused by their leaders, thought him the protector of their rights, and the party of a man who was conscious, that he was fighting his battles only, raised a ferment in the nation, scarcely to be paralleled, and made to himself an acquisition of great reputation.—His eloquence, however, had in all probability produced very little or even no effect, if his efforts had not been supported by the intrigues of a minister vested with the whole power of the crown: But was the opposition to the measures, or the man? Did the interest of the people form that object, which was sought for by that alarming agitation, into which the state was thrown. A multiplicity of words is idle, where facts so much more strongly speak. Mr. — has since sanctified those once execrable measures by his own surpassing conduct, as well late as present; and not only so, but even by the conduct which he held in those very

† So termed by Mr. Pitt in the house of C——, tho' now profligate is a word not to be born by our nicer ears.

very days:— then,— immediately on Lord Granville's retirement, the measures probably became holy as soon as the devil was by him cast out of them, and fit for his own pious use, and proposes; for as soon as Lord Granville was displaced, he acquiesced in the hire of Hanoverian troops, to be paid with British money; and being called upon by a member of the house to exert himself in a cause in which he had so eminently distinguished himself, viz. Hanoverian troops, he sat silent; on which having been entreated if he would say nothing against Hanoverian troops, he would at least say something for them; he with all that wit, which he so often vaunts, displayed the risible muscles of an unembarrassed countenance; a manner by which he often answers questions, too difficult to be answered by any evasions which his so much boasted wit can furnish, or any arguments his more serious reflection can suggest; that the measures themselves were not in the least degree the cause of this violence of opposition, is sufficiently evident. I leave to others to decide, whether the promoter of the measures was the grand grievance to be removed: but this I certainly know, the removal of L. Granville, from the cabinet (who narrowly escaped an impeachment) established the Pel- minterest, and paved the way to the administration of the D. of N., which has, I may say, reigned ever since, at least to the demise of his late M-----y.---And with
regard

regard to the acquiescence, that great stumbling block to the admirers of the irreproachable character of our minister, that mighty riddle requiring an Œdipus for its solution; it had this plain undoubted consequence, it facilitated the schemes of his Gr--- of N---, confirmed him in his master's favour, and gave him the superiority in the closet: so that both the opposition and acquiescence co-operated in one point, served one and the same end; and if so, where was the inconsistency? It can only be alledged by those, who, through a vain ill-timed fruitless zeal, are resolved right or wrong, to contend for the virtue of the patriot, at the expence of his understanding.

It must not be forgotten, that during the Carteret administration, the state was represented by our orator as corrupt from head to foot: No! not one sound part in the whole; and an immediate dissolution threatened the delay of a reformation.—Lord Granville displaced, our patriot soon entered on a most profitable employ, which he enjoyed many years; content to draw in the ordinary ministerial traces without any apprehension of the immediate dissolution of the state, as I presume; for I have not heard of the least instance of reformation from that time, or even a word uttered concerning it. Let me ask, if

the voice formerly so loud, was a patriot voice fraught with the wisdom and breathing benevolence to mankind, or partook of the inanity of sounding brass or tinckling cymbal; or rather was a voice vending big, but delusory words to the people at a high price: a practice often followed on exalted stations in the streets. Not even the treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle could rouse our sleeping guardian angel. It was the handy-work of the P---'s. It was a kind of trophy erected over the ruin of a state adversary; it was the contrivance of those who laboured to blunt the edge of the war during its progress, and finally to stamp infamy on it by an inglorious peace. As to any other affairs, I pass over these years in the same silence as this mighty patriot.---By Mr. Pelham's death our great man, who was before in the third class of ministers, became a secondary minister.

Soon our pacific state tends to a change; a storm is rising a war with France hastens to maturity; and other parts are to be performed by our State-actors, according to the distribution of the master of the Theatre. Mr. — is dissatisfied, and begins to raise his voice in opposition; but on what account I cannot absolutely determine;— not on account of the timidity of the ministry, for that I think was not the reason assigned, but rather the temerity, or the temerity mixt with the want of temerity; for I remember well two gentlemen,

gentlemen, supposed then to be connected in the administration of affairs, were compared by him very elegantly (in a simile which would have done honour to a boy gone half-way thro' a Latin school) to two rivers the Loane and the Rhone, the one a slow the other a rapid river, of which the slow, one losing itself in rapid, they both roll into the sea. Such futile declamations were surely never calculated for doing any one much hurt. Mr. —, however, gains great popularity: by what means? Not by such flowers of oratory I presume, beautiful as they are. How then, by any great reformation of the state? I have looked over the journals of the house of Commons: not any motion made; nor the least attempt of that sort appears: by what then? I shall suspend delivering my sentiments, till some other very remarkable events shall have been considered.

A war with France at length breaks out, which his G---- of N—— (to do him justice) opens with vigour, by equipping and manning our fleet with great alacrity, striking the first blow in the seas of N. America without giving notice to France, and seizing her Merchant vessels, and while France amuses herself by demanding an explanation and satisfaction, pushes her in very essential points. Minorca, however, by negligence of our

prime or m——e minister, or misbehaviour of the commander of the fleet sent to its relief, or by a complication of all these causes, is shamefully lost. Mr. —— is advanced to the post of S——y of —— . But before he entered on that administration, of which you have given your approbation in so distinguished a manner, did he not declare there was no possibility of salvation to this country, unless his G— of N——, L--- H--ke, and L--- A——, should be divested of all power? And yet did we not see within a few months after that declaration, two of these three great obstructions to the salvation of this country, and one, beyond all comparison the most considerable, re-instated in the ministry? Re-instated by whom? Not by himself, who, as is supposed by you, could no longer support himself in power? By whom then? By Mr. ——: What, by a man who just now declared his removal was necessary to the salvation of this country? Perhaps you will say he transferred all power into Mr. ——'s hands, and engaged to meddle no more with public affairs. If he was so reduced as to be brought to these conditions which; was most fit, that a man, who had deserved so ill of the public according to the declaration, should be brought to punishment; or taken by the hand, and re-instated in his office? Oh! but Mr. —— could not do without him.--- What, that
weak

weak man as you declare him to be, and so reduced into the bargain ; was he so necessary to Mr. — ? Ay truly, and Mr. — to him : they have always known the advantage they afford one to another. Is it not plain, that he was called in to cover the miscarriage ? He was always intended to be called in, he was long before pre-destined to lead the city and populace ; for which, things were prepared by an apparent opposition ; the miscarriage happened, and the time required that he should be then immediately called in. The strongest declarations against a thing intended to be done (it must be owned) are not uncommon to our patriot. The great affairs of state are not to be checked and constrained by the same rules, as things in the ordinary course of life. They little understand the great and superior maxims of policy, who scruple to deceive the people to their own advantage. This is no more than what in the language of some churchmen, would be termed a pious fraud. I hope then I have made good the defence of this most respectable personage, and proved that this apparent inconsistency resolves itself into substantial consistency ; for the same old plan doth not cease being uniformly pursued. But let us see how further facts confirm this assertion ; by the fruit, ye shall know the tree.

Let

Let who will blame compassion shewn to a great man under difficulties, mercy we know is one characteristic of a noble mind : let us then continue to place an entire confidence in the wisdom, as well as sincerity of our leader ; for we shall soon find this great luminarity of the state ; this pillar of light sent immediately from heaven to conduct a people wandering in darkness and paths of death ; we shall soon find him, notwithstanding this little condescension, this short temporary setting, rise in greater splendor than he has ever hitherto appeared, at once a shame to timeserving statesmen, and a pattern to future patriots : for the flames of war spreading into Germany, and the native country of our sovereign threatened with fire and sword ; yet neither compassion or court-interest, so prevalent over the minds of other miserable mortals, can influence our patriot in this point ; he is firm, he is immoveable as a rock, tho' a minister. Not a man, nor a guinea to be sent to Germany. When the city shall erect his statue, I hope these words will be inscribed on the marble ; for here he ascends his zenith : this, I confess, is the greatest height which a soul, fired with true glory, could ever hope to attain. Here is no Lord Granville to be opposed, consequently no private views ; here can be nothing but downright true genuine patriotism meant, and the uprightness of the measure and utility
resulting

resulting to Great-Britain from the resolution ; the disdain of Court-favour must give an indubitable sanction to the purity of the intention. Happy for him, with regard to patriot character, (if that was ever really dear, if that at all had been regarded farther than it was useful) happy for this poor bleeding country, had the resolution been observed ; now many lives had been saved to this nation ! What immense treasures escape that bottomless gulph ! What disappointment and despair cast on France ; and what a speedy end probably put to the war, when the enemy should have found himself unable to act offensively against us in any part ? But good Gods ! In what manner did the evil genius of Great-Britain (if ever that resolution was intended to be kept) find the means of breaking it ?— After the most solemn protestations to the contrary, soon the flood-gates of the British treasury, at the command of this glorious minister are opened ; and an inundation of men and money overspreads all Germany, in a manner, to which nothing in past times ever bore any resemblance ; and it is to be hoped in future times never will : for where has been the utility ? To what poor shifts are we reduced, when we are forced to pretend that America has been conquered in Germany ; I am sure if it has been conquered in Germany, it was the most expensive way of conquering it ; for
there

there we engage France at the greatest disadvantage for reasons, tho' of infinite importance, yet so obvious and trite, that one is afraid least in expatiating on them one should offer an affront to the understanding of the public; for they know too well, that from that country, no miserable shilling ever yet returned, or ever will return. They know the charge of transports and embarkations, (which lies on us, and from which the enemy is free) and that surrender which has been made of English property into the hands of foreigners, who manage it without account or controul, with innumerable other misfortunes, which are so notorious as not to require to be particularized. But the assertion contains not the least shadow of truth, is a mere empty pulsation of the air with unmeaning sounds; for France did not want men to send into America; she wanted only the means of conveying them, which was intercepted by our fleets. As nothing, however, can exceed the assurance of those who have advanced that assertion, that America has been conquered in Germany, it is not impossible that so bold an assertion will be attempted to be supported by another equally bold, viz. that the diversion made in Germany has employed so many men, as not to leave to France wherewithal to succour America, even if the seas had been open to her. I therefore beg leave to observe farther,

that

that according to the estimate procured by our All-sufficient minister of, the French forces in July, 1757, and produced by him on Sir J. Mordaunt's trial, the number amounted to 196,000 only : whereas Lewis XIV. maintained 350,000, tho' possess of less territory than the present king. But to return to the inconsistency : what in the name of wonder could have been the inducement ? What have prompted our patriot minister to this deviation from such noble, such exalted sentiments ; from his own fame and good of his country ? Let us survey the circumstances of those times : will they furnish any matter on which one may found any solid reasoning ? Is the inconsistency real or imaginary ? About this time H. R. H. commanded in chief the troops in Germany : but this certainly could be no motive for not sending troops thither, for it was some colour of reason (I say colour, for I own the insufficiency) for sending, viz. to support a branch of the Royal family in a command with which he was entrusted. And tho' there was known to subsist an old and irreconcilable variance at that time, as well as the present, between him and another great man ; yet it was impossible, that that man could proceed to such a degree of wickedness, as to contrive withholding, or his tool be so wicked as at his desire to withhold assistance, merely with this view, that his H— might be disgraced ; the concurrence of circumstances was so unlucky, that assistance was withheld, and his

D

H—

H—— was disgraced; and it was so far in another respect unlucky, that immediately after his disgrace, this country was drained of men and money, to supply the demands of Germany. Men were sent by thousands, and money by millions: but still, surely it was impossible, that any minister, especially one, the idol of the city, the darling of the people, the favourite of heaven, the sacred repository of all the sense and spirit of the nation; that piece of stubborn stuff, equally regardless of *Royal* frowns or favours, should at the word of command of a *subject*, leap forwards; Ay, and backwards too, over a stick, (docile creature!) in order to serve the black purpose of a man, who rioting in the insolence of power, and pride of successful craft, should presume, should dare to wreak his vengeance on a branch of the R---- F----, and dash him crippled to the ground; and that vengeance completed, employ his tool, by a diametrically opposite conduct, in courting another branch of the same family, abusing on one hand the R—— F——; on the other hand, the united body of the people of Great-Britain. These things, I say, can never be; there must be some other reason; I wish any one would furnish it. † This, however, is

† The author is here obliged to own himself foiled, and unable to assign any sufficient reason; for he thinks he has plainly proved, that any private difference between two Great men could not have been the cause.

is very remarkable, that both the D. of C. and Lord Granville, the great adversaries of this all-powerful minister fell, tho' at different times, by the same means; by a clamour raised against foreign measures; and immediately after the fall of one and the other, those very foreign measures were pursued in the most profligate manner by the very man who raised the clamour: and what is still more extraordinary, ——— with the approbation of the people.

Can this be paralleled in history? Is there any thing comes near it? Did the supineness and insensibility of the people in the first instance, encourage that still bolder i—tion in the second! Is mankind thus naturally blind, or could the power of words bereave the people to such a degree of all perception? If I may be allowed to give my opinion on the present state of the people of Great-Britain in general; they are indifferent to every thing but gain, and incapable of putting themselves in motion, except when they are stirred up by the private springs of those who pay them; and those springs ceasing to act, they immediately return to their former indifference. If there is to be found a man, who has repeatedly let out to hire the high esteem in which you held him, to another, whose very name is insufferable to your ears; can you still continue to entertain a good opinion of him?

Quæ bellua ruptis,

Cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?

Think you, did this preacher of virtue gain

a proselite in the —, did he make his — a convert? Did the purchaser become the property of the person bought, or the person bought the property of the purchaser.

The ideas here thrown together are wild, you will say, and incoherent, confused from first to last, all circumstances considered; for if there was that close connection between his his G—— and another Great man, why has that union been disavowed, and his G—— and his administration occasionally inveighed against by his friend? Never, I think, with any great seriousness. This question, however, will be more properly answered after asking another question. Would you, gentlemen, have ever been by any human means induced to have made the D—— the object of your favour? Was there the least shadow of probability, tho' he could so far ingratiate himself with the city, as to fill his own sails with the breath of popular applause? was there any hopes of this kind to be entertained by him? much less would you have looked on any other man, a profest tool of his, any otherwise than with disdain. Having said thus much, let me illustrate what I have farther to say by the history of former times; what has happened beyond all doubt once, may be supposed in the nature of things to be capable of happening again. Was not Cardinal Retz as much adored by the people of Paris, as——
by

by the people of L—on; had he not their confidence, in at least as great a degree; the darling theme of every tongue; the darling object of every heart, which profess to wish well to its country; the master of their passions and their purses; and when I say purses, let it be known, that here is not meant money lent on extravagant profit; but money absolutely given to the public cause. Was not this favour of his fellow citizens, procured by a spirited opposition to the ministry of Mazarin. Yet this same individual Cardinal Retz, even by his own too clear confession, as well as by other authentic accounts, betrayed the liberties of his country for the privilege and vanity of being clothed in scarlet, and the title of Cardinal without any *pension annex*; and, what is particularly pertinent to our purpose, and was the occasion for quoting this history, made a bargain, made a treaty, says the dutchess of Nemours memoirs, by which it was agreed, that he should be allowed to pour forth invectives against the minister, in order to maintain his credit with the people, and the more effectually serve the minister against the people.—If this age has produced any Cardinal Retz, may he meet his fate; for he past the latter part of his time in humiliation and contrition; the scorn of the court which he had insulted; the scorn of the people whom he had abused.—But to return to my subject, do not you see by their disunion; the
 one

one bringing *popularity*, the other *power* into the common stock of interest; they united popularity with power. It is impossible, that you can believe, that without any design at all the whole conduct, and even every apparent inconsistency of Mr. — should have been subservient to the D. of N——'s purposes? If you can give credit to this, you will believe too without any great proficiency, the Epicurean doctrine of the formation of the world from Atoms accidentally thrown together.

By this time you will, perhaps, begin to gain some glimmering light of what was meant when it was proposed to be submitted to your consideration; if on a certain occasion you had not been made to take the change.— Here was an immense task to be undertaken; a war to be commenced against France, and sums to be raised on the people, which no man till this day ever entertained a thought of raising, or even of a possibility that they could be born by the people: sums which an arbitrary prince would have never dared to have exacted, —or daring, had probably paid the forfeit of his rashness. It was impossible to proceed on this plan; the people discontented, especially for a minister so low in the esteem of his countrymen, both as to capacity and H——. Here then was a popular phantom to be raised. An *ignis fatuus* to lead the people: and you, gentlemen,

gentlemen, if I am not mistaken, have been made the tools to raise this phantom. By what means I will not pretend to say : this I may venture to say, some of you have a pretty tolerable share of that self-importance, which money often inspires ; from which too you derive an anti-ministerial spirit, not loving greatly to see any thing more considerable than yourselves : these naturally fall into the schemes of a violent opposer : others are believed not to be averse to that sort of gain, which is neither attended with risks at sea, nor fall of foreign markets, nor subject to the caprice of fortune in any degree. Some there are whose interest, as well as pride, it is to protect the produce of the sugar colonies from contributing farther to the national expences. Numbers there are, who by means of contracts exorbitantly profitable, preying on the state become devotees to the service of the minister. There is another set of men silly enough to be led by the clamour of ministerial Emissaries, and join in every cry. I will only add to this, that his G—, with all his farce, knows mankind much better than you imagine ; and to make his advantage of their different tempers ; that he is allowed to have studied more than any man living ; and to be particularly well versed in the conduct of the populace, both great and small. He began formerly with a well-formed corps of the inhabitants of Claremarket, and hath extended his practice over
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this great city, and to the utmost limits of the kingdom.

That phantoms might not be wanting; two were raised. Let us then consider the worthiness of these children of fame, which you thought you begot, but who were really begotten for you; and whom you afterwards fathered and nursed up, as is the case of many an honest, deluded man.—Was not the one bred up from his infancy in the school of C—, was he not educated immediately at the feet of the father of C—? Had he not spent his whole life in earning the wages of C—? Could any thing but an immediate call from H— raise a mind so habituated to s—ty, or change a co-ec-tion so deep? And what a call he received from H— to the paths of v—-; let this fact speak, if it is true, that he has a place held in trust for him incompatible with a — in —, and enjoys the profit of it to this day. A call just the reverse of that from money-changing. Mighty patriot! Worthy protector of the laws! and conservator of the rights of the people! O shame! I will raise my voice and cry aloud: I will try if it is possible to awake this people from their lethargy: O eternal ignominy! both to you and him: could you not perceive that his short anti ministerial conduct, under ministerial warrant, was to be his qualification for your favours; that he was put on you, that he might be some counter-balance to another who was intended to be set before him; that
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if the one's head should turn giddy, by the eminence to which he was to be raised, the other might be * called to the service of the minister's purposes; and with, perhaps, a farther view to make you ridiculous, even to yourselves whenever the cool hour of reflection should come. In your great wisdom, you furnished two expanded machines, the work of the breath of your mouths, the offsprings of your flatulency, to keep above water, to buoy up a minister whom you both hated and despised. The one I will drop; you yourselves have dropt him; and I suppose before this time are heartily ashamed of your folly. However, as you have had the appearance at least of having raised these gentlemen to the m—, and in that respect the honour of exerting an authority equal to that which the constitution of this state places in the crown; it is much to be wished, that you were too, for your judgments, dignified with the same Royal Present, which was bestowed I think (if my school-

E learning

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learning has not forsaken me) on a Phrygian king.

If the public, by the reception which they shall give these sentiments, encourage the author thereto, he will proceed to shew, from undeniable facts, that the people have been grossly misled in those notions, by which they have been induced to attribute to a certain Great man the merit of our success in the present war.

F I N I S.



